

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 SALT T 00165 241927Z

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ACTION SS-25

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: REPORT OF DRAFTING WORKING GROUP MEETING, APRIL 21, 1975  
(SALT TWO-623)

1. AT ITS APRIL 21 MEETING (A-841) DRAFTING WORKING GROUP  
(KLOSSON, EARLE/KARPOV, SMOLIN) FOCUSED ON US ARTICLE VIII  
AND SOVIET ARTICLE XVIII ON FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS AND RE-  
DUCTIONS. US ALSO PROPOSED NEW LANGUAGE FOR US IX/SOVIET XI.

2. KLOSSON SET FORTH MAIN IDEAS OF US VIII. KARPOV, READING  
FROM TYPED DRAFT, DELIVERED SERIES OF CRITICISMS. HE SAID  
THAT US VIII.1 DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO PROVISIONS OF AIDE-  
MEMOIRE. DEPENDING ON WHAT POSITION US TAKES REGARDING  
ENTRY INTO FORCE OF NEW AGREEMENT, US PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE  
NEGOTIATIONS BEGINNING NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 1978 OR EVEN  
EARLIER, WHEREAS AIDE-MEMOIRE ALLOWS THE SIDES UNTIL 1980-81.  
THE SOVIETS "DO NOT UNDERSTAND" WHY REDUCTIONS IN US DRAFT  
APPLY ONLY TO AGGREGATES; THIS "PREDETERMINES" WHERE REDUC-  
TIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE. KARPOV ALSO OBJECTED TO PROVISION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00165 241927Z

THAT REDUCTIONS AND FURTHER LIMITATIONS BE CARRIED OUT AT

THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE, ASKING WHY SHOULD AN AGREEMENT ALREADY UNDER NEGOTIATIONS FOR NEARLY THREE YEARS AND SUPPOSED TO LAST TEN YEARS BE REVISED IN ITS FIRST YEAR, SO AS TO CHANGE PROVISIONS POSSIBLY EVEN BEFORE THEY GO INTO EFFECT? KARPOV DESCRIBED US PROPOSAL AS "LEGAL NONSENSE", "VIOLATION OF ELEMENTARY LOGIC," AND "UNDERMINING" OF NEW AGREEMENT.

3. EARLE SAID KARPOV'S COMMENTS MISS THE POINT. WE DO NOT SUGGEST AIDE-MEMOIRE REQUIRES NEGOTIATIONS EARLIER THAN 1980-81. RATHER, AIDE-MEMOIRE INTENDED THAT, AT SOME LATER TIME, THE SIDES DECIDE WHEN TO NEGOTIATE, AND NOW, SIX MONTHS AFTER VLADIVOSTOK, THE US PROPOSES WE BEGIN PROMPTLY. THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER EARLY NEGOTIATION ON REDUCTIONS AND FURTHER LIMITATIONS ARE A GOOD THING.

4. KLOSSON SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ALLEGATION THAT US PROPOSAL UNDERMINES THE BASIS OF AGREEMENT. ARTICLE VIII IS FULLY IN LINE WITH AIDE-MEMOIRE AND OFFERS CONCRETE PROPOSALS REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS AND ON A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT. EARLY NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS AND FUR-

THE LIMITATIONS SHOULD NOT BE CAST IN TERMS OF "REVISING" THE NEW AGREEMENT, BUT AS "IMPROVING" IT AS PART OF A CONTINUING PROCESS OF ARMS LIMITATIONS BEGUN IN 1972. HE RECALLED THAT US AND USSR HAD REDUCED PERMITTED STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE ARMS BY 50 PERCENT ONLY TWO YEARS AFTER ABM TREATY WAS CONCLUDED. IF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BEGAN NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS WITHIN A YEAR AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF NEW AGREEMENT, NO SENSIBLE PERSON WOULD CRITICIZE SUCH A MOVE. INDEED MILITARY PLANNERS ON BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF THEIR FUTURE REQUIREMENTS. IF EITHER OF THE TWO SIDES DID NOT WANT TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS, THAT SIDE WOULD HAVE TO DO THE EXPLAINING.

5. KARPOV ASKED WHAT WOULD BE COVERED BY THE PHRASE "OTHER LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS" IN US VIII, WHETHER THESE WERE ONLY ARMS INCLUDED IN NEW AGREEMENT OR ALSO OTHER ARMS. KLOSSON SAID THAT IF NEW ARMS WERE DEVELOPED, THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD COVER THEM, AND IN LINE WITH THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00165 241927Z

COULD COVER BOTH STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE ARMS. (KARPOV DID NOT EXPRESSLY RAISE FBS OR REFER TO SOVIET ARTICLE XIII.)

6. KARPOV ASKED ABOUT THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 OF US VIII, WHETHER THE REVIEW PROCESS WOULD COVER ONLY CONTENTS OF THE AGREEMENT OR OTHER MATTERS, WHETHER NEGOTIATION OF PARA 1 WOULD BE COMPLETED BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS OF PARA 2,

OR MIGHT THEY TAKE PLACE IN PARALLEL. HE ASKED WHAT WAS THE SENSE OF TWO NEGOTIATIONS. KLOSSON SAID WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE PARA 1 NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE OVER BEFORE THE REVIEW BEGAN, BUT NO DEADLINE HAD BEEN SET. IF BOTH SIDES WERE IN AGREEMENT REGARDING THE DESIRABILITY OF REDUCTIONS, IT MADE SENSE TO BEGIN NECESSARY NEGOTIATIONS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. IN ANY BILATERAL REVIEW, AGENDA IS DECIDED BY BOTH PARTIES TOGETHER. US PROPOSALS FOR TWO SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT TIED TOGETHER; ONE SET WOULD BE AIMED AT REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS; THE OTHER FOR A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT. IF THE SOVIETS THINK THEY SHOULD BE TIED TOGETHER, THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED. DISCUSSION ENDED WITH KARPOV CLAIMING HE STILL DID NOT UNDERSTAND US PROPOSAL.

7. US TABLED MODIFIED LANGUAGE FOR US IX (DEACTIVATION OF EXCESS WEAPONS) IN RESPONSE TO PREVIOUS SOVIET ALTERATION OF THEIR ARTICLE XI. US TEXT REFERS TO "STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" RATHER THAN "DELIVERY VEHICLES", AND RETAINS SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OF ORIGINAL VERSION. SOVIET SIDE AGREED TO CONSIDER IT FOR NEXT MEETING.

8. NEXT MEETING, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 10:00 A.M. JOHNSON

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